



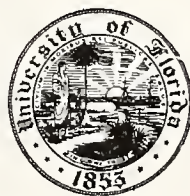
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PAPERS
OF THE
PEABODY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGY
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VOL. XLII—NO. 3

NAVAHO ACQUISITIVE VALUES

BY
RICHARD HOBSON

REPORTS OF THE RIMROCK PROJECT
VALUES SERIES NO. 5



CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.
PUBLISHED BY THE MUSEUM
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RICHARD HOBSON

Cambridge, Mass.
1953

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NAVAHO ACQUISITIVE VALUES

INTRODUCTION

THIS study of one area of Navaho values was undertaken as an experiment in method. Anthropologists have long held that armchair ethnology is no substitute for field work, and yet, while this is not an attempt to question that contention, there still remains a challenging accumulation of cultural data lying unexploited in museum libraries. The Yale Human Relations Area Files now make much of this published material available for research. This paper, however, has utilized a relatively untapped resource — on-the-spot rough field notes.

Unlike most such data, the field notes used here had been carefully classified, filed, and cross-referenced under headings prepared by Clyde Kluckhohn. In preparation for this paper these files were scanned for statements by informants on the subject of wealth accumulation. This particular value-area was selected because it appeared sufficiently limited in scope to permit description and generalization of a fair order of specificity, and because it was one significant area which as yet had not been investigated by the Comparative Study of Values in Five Cultures.

The operations used to select and organize the relevant file data were not essentially different from those which might be used for a similar study performed by a field worker on his own data. The chief difference between working from primary sources of one's own and primary sources collected by others is in the control over the unrecorded context provided by on-the-scene observation. In compensation, access to field notes collected by eleven well-trained yet independent investigators affords a measure of security in regard to the randomness and adequacy of the sample.

¹All quotations which are not footnoted are taken from field notes of David F. Aberle, Wilfred C. Bailey, Janine Chappat Rosenzweig, Clyde Kluckhohn, Alexander and Dorothea Leighton, Virginia Lewisohn, Robert McNair, Robert Rapoport, Harry Tschopik, and Evon Z. Vogt. Quotations from sources other than these are footnoted accordingly.

²Data which proved most fruitful were found in such file categories as the following: Economic Strati-

In all, 335 statements — from 77 informants interviewed over a 15-year period — are utilized in this paper. Some supplementary statements are quoted from published life histories.¹

The pertinent value statements were drawn from a variety of field note categories.² First, notes filed under headings directly relevant to wealth accumulation were examined intensively. Peripheral categories were then inspected for potential additions. Only "value" statements in the informants' own words were selected for analysis, although generalizations by field workers were taken into account. When the informants' statements were assembled, they were classified on the basis of the similarity of the values expressed or implied. The patterns of these groups of statements comprised the eight major themes treated under subheadings in the discussion and analysis below. "Explicit" value statements were given primary consideration, and "implicit" acquisitive values were inferred from explicit statements made in broader or related contexts.

The concept of "values" employed was essentially that formulated by Clyde Kluckhohn:

A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action.³

The general method of ascertaining value patterns may perhaps best be described as traditional anthropological qualitative analysis. Collateral interpretative literature was consulted for elaboration and confirmation only after the analysis and classification of the data

fication, Status Differentiation, Moral Judgments, Parental Advice, Conception of Property, Incorporeal Property, Real Property, Land Use and Ownership, Property Transactions in Marriage, Sex Beliefs and Attitudes, Ethical Ideals, Philosophy of Life, Leadership, Classes, Fees to Ceremonial Practitioners, Ceremonial Participation, Preventive Medicine, Sheep Culture, Games and Gambling.

³ Kluckhohn, 1951, p. 395.

from the files were completed, and relevant references had been noted.

Nearly all of the informants are resident in and around Rimrock, New Mexico—the 77 representing a fair sample of the 600 or so Navaho population: rich and poor, conservative and acculturated, prestigious and “man-on-the-range.” About 43 per cent of these informants would be considered poor by Navaho standards, 12 per cent rich, and 45 per cent in the middle range.⁴ As to degree of acculturation, about 47 per cent are conservative, wanting to “go the Navaho way”; 15 per cent are caught between two worlds, have conflicting values, and indulge in delinquent behavior; 24 per cent are fairly acculturated and accept one or both ways of life; and about 14 per cent want to “go the white way.”⁵ In general, those of poor and middle range economic status hold to traditional Navaho values, while those of higher economic status tend to accept, if not to emulate, the white way of life.⁶ The greatest conflict due to acculturation pressures is experienced by the poor.

Nine of the informants are considered individuals of great prestige in the community; an equal number of them come from each of the roughly formulated economic statuses here considered.⁷ Seven of the nine are conservative, adhering closely to traditional Navaho values.⁸

Wealth accumulation values of the Navahos are in many respects typical of those of contemporary “primitive” men the world over. Subsistence is obtained only through great effort. A Navaho says: “We have our arm and hand to work with, to do something. But we have to work hard for everything we get.” Another says: “If you’re lazy it will be just no use. You won’t get anything.”

Like other so-called primitive men, Navahos are generally poor, but unlike most of them, the idea of poverty generates an uncommon degree of anxiety. Far from accepting their condition, they resent and fear it. A Navaho says: “I minded my father and mother. I be-

lieved what they said was true. And so I got along all right. *I never got poor.*” Nothing must be lost, wasted, neglected. Another says: “And my daddy used to teach us how to take care of our home, and how to take care of ourselves, and how we should take care of all of our horses and sheep.”

The desire to accumulate wealth is perhaps stronger among the Navahos than among most other similar groups. Economic display, although on a scale scarcely approaching that of some tribes, provides some motivation: “We like to dress with the good clothes, good horse to ride, saddle, saddle blanket, bridle, rope, and everything else.” But Navaho economic goals are not immoderate, for an excessive value on wealth accumulation seldom prevails in cultures where it is virtually impossible to wrest great wealth from the environment. “We should have a good living, make a little money, have good horses and sheep, what to live on.”⁹ And like most primitive men the Navahos attribute overabundance to supernatural intervention.

The Navahos value wealth as a means to social prestige somewhat less than do others of a similar cultural type. Although they will say, “Good men are men who have property,” they do not fail to enumerate more important qualities such as “good speech” and “know how the old people found things out.” Leadership is not attained through wealth, nor is participation in religious ceremonials limited to the wealthy, as frequently is membership in secret societies in other cultures.

More than most non-literate peoples, the Navahos are becoming aware, however dimly, that capital is a useful factor in the increase of wealth. But their techniques of accumulation mostly center about learning skills, preserving property, and working hard: “I was always working. That’s the reason they thought I was the best Indian alive . . .”¹⁰

As for practices which obstruct wealth accumulation, the Navahos are similar to other nonliterate peoples. Religious beliefs require the expenditure of much time, effort, and

⁴ These evaluations were made by Evon Z. Vogt. (see table 3).

⁵ See table 2.

⁶ See table 4.

⁷ See table 6.

⁸ See table 5.

⁹ Leighton and Leighton, 1944, p. 32.

¹⁰ Dyk, 1947, p. 164.

wealth for ceremonials.¹¹ A good proportion of economic transactions are still handled through trade or barter. Individual initiative is restricted. Social pressures compel sharing: "Navahos should help all their relatives and people who live around." Supernatural sanc-

tions are invoked against undue accumulation of wealth: "Witches put on wolf skins and kill people, rich people. They take their bracelets and then bury them. Then they dig them up and eat them."

¹¹ Generalizing from his long and intimate association with the Navaho, Clyde Kluckhohn has repeatedly stated that the central focus of the culture is ceremonial and ritualistic. It has nevertheless been his

impression (1945, p. 275) that "the fundamental *manifest* [emphasis added] motivations are basically economic in character."

VALUES REGARDING WEALTH ACCUMULATION

IN A study of the significance of wealth accumulation in the Navaho value system, it is of primary importance to determine whether the accumulation of wealth is an end in itself or whether it is a means to the pursuit of other values. The amount of wealth desired and qualitative requirements for the goods accumulated must also be documented. It will be relevant also to ascertain the significance of money as a medium of exchange and as a symbol of status. Moreover, there should be an attempt to find out if the chief motivation is sheer accumulation, display, or generous distribution; if Navahos are resentful, envious, or admiring of the worldly goods of others; if property symbolizes success; and what the social rewards of wealth accumulation are.

A second cluster of inquiries would examine the preferred techniques of accumulation to discover what value is placed upon technological "know-how" and in what ways traditional means of acquisition are being replaced by techniques adopted from American culture. The transmission of acquisitive values to the younger generation, and the Navaho value regarding industriousness and meeting obstacles, are also germane issues as are the extent to which improvidence, irresponsibility, and laziness are censured, and the attitudes toward loss of property. With these considerations in mind, hundreds of Navaho statements were examined and a series of explicit values factored out.¹

"MAKE A GOOD LIVING"

The dominant theme in Navaho economic values is expressed here by a Singer admonishing a child for running away from home: "I hope I will never hear about you again about running away from your home and not minding your father and mother, but I hope I will hear about you taking care of your home and making a good living out of your own work."

"The way I figure," says Eddie Mario, a young Navaho, "is to start farming and see if I can make a living out of that and at the same time I'll get a permit for sheep. That way I might get by, living on farming and on sheep too." Another describes his efforts to make a decent living as follows: "And I start to farming again. Plant some corn, beans, pumpkins. Bought some horses. I start plowing the field. Make a living." The same goal persists after his marriage: "So she just came over here and we get together and try to make a living — last summer and this year. So we're getting along pretty good, making a living how we can." After buying a wagon, harness, plow, and barbed wire, Charles Yazzi explains

that "then we began to have some things, building up our living now. And the sheep just kept increasing too, every year."

Making a good living is also the mark of a good man or a good mother. A good man, states Mr. Mustache, a leader of great prestige, "makes a good living, not mean." And a good mother, according to a former headman, tells "her children to learn things from her, how to make a little money so he can make a living when he is grown." A curer recalls the advice given him by his parents as follows: "'This is for your own instruction, as many years as you going to live. And another thing what you doing this for is, when you get old enough to marry, you can get married and from there on you can get a good living out of it, and also you can teach your children.'"² A son is assured by his father that "if I do take care of my sheep I would make a good living out of it." At his wedding feast a young bridegroom is advised by his father-in-law: "... Do the farming, make a good house, do the outside work, do the work for your

¹ See table 1 for a summary of these values in terms of frequency of reference in the statements of informants.

² Leighton and Leighton, 1944, p. 123.

own. . . . Won't be long before you going to have some children.'"³

A good living, to the Navaho, means a certain minimum of physical comfort. A community leader, for example, says that: "The Navaho way is just to want enough to have enough to eat for your family and nice things to wear sometimes.'"⁴ A more explicit statement of the constituents of a good living is the following: "One time I went out to look for a job and I found a job herding sheep, so that I could take care of myself and buy some new shoes and clothes and buy a little groceries for my mother." A headman, extolling a man's good qualities, says to his relatives: "Now he has got to where he has everything he has been thinking about for a long time. He put in hard work to get all these things. If he wants to get something good to eat, he gets it. If he wants to drink good water, he gets it. And if he wants to burn good wood, he gets it. Even if he wants to wear good clothes, he thinks about it and gets them. . . .'"⁵

The recipient of this praise attributes his

prestige among his people to the fact that "I always had plenty to eat; that's the reason, I guess.""⁶ This emphasis on food is exemplified in another statement by a relative of a bridegroom to the maternal uncle of the bride: "The reason we brought our child is because you are a good man. . . . There are lots of things to eat here, and still some left over. That's the way we'd like to see our boy do. . . .'" Contentment with a good living, Navaho way, is expressed by a curer as follows: "I am in my home, inside where it is warm, and take care of all my property.'"⁷

In the statements of Navaho veterans of World War II,⁸ however, there is a certain insistence that the old way could somehow be improved: "In my family there's not much I can do except to start farming and make a better living. I was thinking about increasing the livestock, but they won't let us have more." And Jim Domingo says: "We just moved up here last summer and this winter. And we are doing all right up to this time. I think we will improve our living and increase our sheep."

"HAVE LOTS OF PROPERTY"

"' . . . If a man knows how to use the stock he can trade his sheep for something that's worth-while; then he'll be fixed well. Soon he'll have a lot of things, lots of property.'"⁹ Thus a Navaho father emphasized to his son the value of accumulating wealth. "'When you learn about the stocks and properties you'll surely get them. If you go ahead and overcome all these hardships you'll soon have a big herd and property, and you'll have lots to eat.'"¹⁰ For, he asserts, "I know you wish to have lots of stock and property, and I know you need them. . . .'"¹¹ But, he insists, a lot of hard work is demanded for the accumulation of property. "'After you've suffered, then, for all your knowing you'll have a handful of things, and you'll look at them and won't know what to do with them. But you'll use them all the time. After you get all this

stuff your children will have everything.'"¹²

Stress is also placed on the increase of property once it is accumulated; for example, the good luck songs which every family possesses to ensure the increase of flocks and herds. A curer and former "chief" of the Rimrock community for 30 years sets forth his reasons for placing trust in his Mormon neighbors: "You know the Mormons, they want to increase everything. They want to increase the land, and they want to increase the stock, so I believe in all those things." At the same time a Galilean convert contends that: "I guess if I am the supervisor, I would tell the Navahos that you can raise and increase the sheep all you want. The Navahos are most interested in increasing their sheep."

The value placed on the possession of much property is clearly seen in the assertions of

³ Leighton and Leighton, 1944, p. 103.

⁴ Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 221.

⁵ Dyk, 1947, p. 93.

⁶ Dyk, 1947, p. 164.

⁷ Leighton and Leighton, 1944, p. 133.

⁸ See Vogt, 1951, for a discussion of the Navaho

veterans.

⁹ Dyk, 1938, p. 350.

¹⁰ Dyk, 1938, p. 76.

¹¹ Dyk, 1938, p. 81.

¹² Dyk, 1938, pp. 80-81.

Navahos regarding money. For example: "Money will fix anything. You can do anything with money. If I had enough money I could fix things up here okay." One of the younger men thinks he might emulate white ways of raising chickens or hogs "or anything I could get some money out of. Same way I'm going to try to improve my farming. Anything to get some money out of it." A Spanish-American employee of the U. S. Indian Service observes that the Navaho "don't want to worry about crops; they just want to make money."

Mucho, a conservative Navaho who has nevertheless taken over some of the white values regarding wealth accumulation, gives this as his reason for training race horses: "The only reason is to try to win money. You don't race for your health." And one of the more acculturated young Navahos plans to go back in the army for a year "and make some money."

The Navaho concern over money is also implicit in their feeling that they are exploited by white people. With regard to the missionaries, such statements as the following are not uncommon: "Maybe he's just making money out of the Navaho." Or, "That interpreter of his used to be poor. Now he has a car and gets a hundred a month." With regard to anthropologists: "Eastern people come out here and then make a lot of money off the things the people tell them. They use it for sale or something." A Navaho woman states that it is "not right to tell the medicines to white people because they take them away from the Navaho and use them for money."

"Indians talk about how they wish to get a lot of money but I don't know what they want to do with it," confesses Bill Begay. But despite all the pronouncements of interest in wealth accumulation, most Navahos are as realistic as the one who says, "I don't see how I'll ever make any money." Or the one who says, "I'm just hanging around here not getting anywhere."

Interest in possession and acquisition of property is also evidenced in dream material. The Navahos believe that if they dream of acquiring objects of wealth their dreams will

be realized. For example: "Dreaming of good corn before planting time means it will come true. Doesn't come soon. Takes quite a while sometimes. . . . Same way with dreams about pinyon. If you have a silver belt or other good things in a dream, that will come also like the others." A hand-trembler dreamt of doing "motion-in-hand" for people and getting paid with sheep and goats. He also dreamt of having lots of horses. Others have dreamt of acquiring money, a guitar, a horse and donkey. In every case, the dreams portended imminent acquisition of wealth.

"My father said: 'Take care of yourself. Have good horses, bridle, saddle blankets' so I could go anywhere to a Sing without being ashamed. Without good clothes you couldn't go anywhere where there were lots of people. Might get ashamed where they had good times." And this Navaho adds: "I never got poor. I could go anyplace." Thus he makes explicit the Navaho value of display of wealth, at least in the way of horses, trappings, and clothes. "We want to see how much people are having the good horses, good clothing to wear," another informant affirms in describing a Sing. "When we come home our father asks the question how we like the way the people down there dress, the way the horses they all fixed up. Well, the next thing they told us, when we get married we should look at a man and his wife — how they ride a good horse in there. They want us to be like that . . . ride in a buggy or on a good horse, wearing a lot of jewelry, turquoise, good beads, belt."

Leif Handed describes an occasion when a

'. . . whole crowd came up to me. They were looking at my bow and arrows and sacks, . . . spreading out my buffalo skin and saddle-blanket and passing them around to one another and talking about them, . . . A man named Slow came up and said to them, "That's what you call a man's property. . . . A man who has things like that has all kinds of stuff. I know that fellow. He's got property. He's got stock."'¹³

Such instances of ostentation evoke admiration and envy among the Navaho.

Although it is said that "a man likes to ride a good horse with a good saddle, people like

¹³ Dyk, 1938, p. 324.

to see you," it is also valued "to have a good wagon, good harness, and a good crop of corn, squashes, oats, good fence." Thus the desire to display good things extends beyond jewelry and trappings and includes flocks and herds.¹⁴ And it includes the ostentation involved in giving an elaborate ceremonial with special

equipment and a famous Singer from another region. It doubtless includes the cases of display of relief groceries in lean years. And it may help to explain the Navaho predilection for maintaining a lone rooster, or even dogs and cats, as showing the ability to maintain uneconomic assets.¹⁵

"TAKE CARE OF THINGS"

"My mother used to take good care of me. She used to train me pretty nice, too, how to take care of things." So speaks a Navaho woman regarding one value that is inculcated into every child.¹⁶ Marcos, a member of the Aaronic priesthood in the Mormon church, relates of his childhood: "I didn't stay at home much. One day my uncle talked to me. He told me not to monkey around so much, just to stay home and take care of those things I had at home."

A Navaho policeman quit his job because he preferred to "take care of all my property." A man suffered social criticism because he "don't look after things the way he ought to." Why this emphasis on the preservation of wealth? "By taking care of all things you'll soon be a man who has everything."¹⁷ This value is deeply rooted so that even the destitute profess: "I keep everything. I don't care if it isn't very good, but I have to keep it because I'm poor now."

Most Navaho injunctions to "take care of things" pertain to livestock, particularly sheep. Thus: "My father and mother told me 'Take care of these sheep.' My father spanked me and scared me so that I took good care of the sheep." Carlos learns from his father that "I have to herd sheep and take care of them." A mother advises her son: "If you look after your goats, when there will be more, you will have something with which to buy shoes and

cloth for clothes."¹⁸ Emphasis on this value is illustrated by the following examples of parental advice:

'When you get one sheep or a horse or a cow and start to take care of it, taking it around where there's good grazing and good water, you'll start raising them, and soon you'll have lots of stock.'

'... you must look after all the stock, cattle, horses and sheep, and the little property we have. You must try your best to take care of all the stock, ... If you take care of them you'll have sheep and cattle to live on and horses to travel around with. That whole thing will give you clothing of all kinds and all kinds of food.'

'You must look after your stocks. You must look for good grazing and good water. You should ask the people where to find water and good grazing for them. As long as you take them around where there's good feed and water you'll have good-looking sheep, horses, and cattle. You must look ahead for yourself and your stock.'¹⁹

Gambling and playing games are disapproved partially on the grounds that livestock would be neglected. "Old folks didn't want us to learn games because of going crazy and not caring for sheep." A lad of fifteen stopped playing because his father and mother told him "not to fool with that game but tend sheep and horses." Once people start gambling, "they'll go on and lose money and don't care about the sheep or hogan." Some fear that

¹⁴It was partly this which touched off the great Navaho opposition to the government stock reduction program a few years ago.

¹⁵Landgraf, 1954, comments that flocks are sometimes overloaded with goats, old ewes, and other unproductive animals for prestige reasons.

¹⁶Leighton and Kluckhohn, 1947, p. 110, suggest that the Navaho interest in safety is interpreted by white school teachers as "utterly without ambition."

They comment: "What is not said but is often implied, by context or in other ways, is that life is so dangerous and such terrible things can happen to people that anyone is foolish to ask for more than security."

¹⁷Dyk, 1938, p. 253.

¹⁸Dyk, 1947, p. 17.

¹⁹Dyk, 1938, pp. 77, 253, 254.

witchcraft will be used against them in games: "Might make me dizzy and lose all my stock."²⁰

"Going around to Sings," if pursued excessively, would result in the same consequences. Gregorio, as a boy, was supposed to "herd the sheep all the time, every day, and not to go over to a ceremonial or any other place, only herding."²¹ Although Old Mexican's brothers spent a lot of their time at squaw dances and Sings, he never did because "I feared that if I went my horses would get hungry and poor."²²

One of the reasons people thought he was a good man, says Old Mexican, is because "I worked on the farm, and didn't go to dances."²³ Silentio remarks: "They have games and Sings but I never go." One of the young men explains his abstention: "I like to stay home and work. That's why I don't go around to Sings very often." Another says: "You shouldn't go around to Sings too much." His qualification "too much" must be carefully considered, for all Navahos are under strong pressure to participate actively in curing ceremonies—particularly those held for members of one's extended family. The injunctions against "going around to Sings" are directed rather toward the increasingly large number of young men who, caught among the conflicting values of a culture undergoing rapid change, find in alcohol a convenient escape and tear about the countryside getting drunk and disorderly at one Sing after another. It is "running around" in general that is disapproved, not attendance at Sings as such, as expressed in this disapprobation: "That man is running around in his car all the time. Doesn't look after things the way he ought to."

Keeping up one's home is also stressed. Any number of statements use the same phrase: "Take care of your home." One Navaho actually offers this value as justification for pre-

ferring the white way of life: "I like the white people's way because they take care of their houses and everything in their houses."

Other kinds of property must be preserved. The ideal Navaho mother must teach her children to "Take care of their clothes, take care of their dishes, bed and bed blankets." And a father advises his son: "'You must patch up your moccasins, the soles and tops, and your clothing. You must patch up all your clothing, . . . The same with your saddle and the whole outfit of a horse. You must patch up your saddles and bridles, saddle blankets, ropes and whips.'"²⁴

For the same reason, ill-use of tools is censured: "Tools should not be broken or used wrong. It is bad for a person to break tools all the time. Not to try to work right with them."

Unquestionably the greatest anxiety endured by Navahos in the economic sphere is the fear of "losing all and everything." This fear is made vividly explicit in any number of verbal statements. Gambling, for example, is disapproved, not for fear of "losing" but for fear of losing "property," "what you have," "all you own," "all your possessions," "a lot," "lots of things."

As would be expected, a large part of this anxiety is concerned with the fear of losing sheep and livestock. "Don't lose sheep," is a typical parental command. A Navaho woman of 55, speaking of her childhood, comments: "I must have been pretty good herder, didn't lose any sheep."²⁵ Navaho "bad dreams" likewise reflect this anxiety; one man dreamt he had "lost all my sheep—couldn't find any of them." In fact one Navaho divorced his wife not because of adultery which she had committed, but because she squandered sheep.²⁶

A father points out to his son the consequences of not having a "song" for the sheep: "Something will bother them all the time.

²⁰ It has been suggested that the heavily documented disapproval of gambling among the Rimrock Navaho is attributable to Mormon moralistic influence upon the father of Mr. Mustache who was for many years headman of the community, and consequently upon Mr. Mustache who was himself headman for 30 years. Kluckhohn (1945, pp. 263-66) indicates that it was customary for people to come to Mr. Mustache for advice of a general nature. He states

(p. 263): "Indeed there is a recognized blood relationship between Mr. Mustache and fully sixty percent of the living members of this society."

²¹ Leighton and Leighton, 1944, p. 97.

²² Dyk, 1947, p. 19.

²³ Dyk, 1947, p. 164.

²⁴ Dyk, 1938, p. 253.

²⁵ Leighton and Leighton, 1944, p. 112.

²⁶ Vogt, 1951, p. 136.

Something will happen to them. They'll get lost every day. Sickness will bother them, and they'll be dying off. Soon you'll have no more sheep." And: "Remember what I've told you, you must not lose, kill or give away young ewes, young mares, and cows, . . ." And: ". . . with anyone who comes to you and tells you to let the herd go. You mustn't let the herd go, because as soon as you do there'll be nothing left of them. . . . In that way you'll lose many of them." ²⁷ Playing cards is censured for fear of losing "all your livestock," "sheep or everything."

In point of fact, of the statements available for this study, a greater number expressed anxiety over the possible loss of money than over the loss of sheep. It is to avoid losing money that forms of dissipation are discouraged. Mr. Mustache, for example, says: "Gambling is like wasting money — giving and throwing it away." As acculturation progresses, money seems to be replacing sheep as a symbol of security throughout the Navaho country.

A Navaho veteran, inclined to reject both Navaho and white values, structured two ambiguous *TAT* pictures in terms of losing money. In one a Navaho soldier, jailed for drunkenness, is released and thereafter refuses to buy more wine, "because he is worrying about the money he lost to buy his fine to get out of jail." In the other a Navaho soldier loses a crap game: "So he gets up and says, 'No good, crap game. No more money.' So he just gets up and worries about the money he lost."

But the final degradation is to lose one's clothing, as the following statements on the consequences of gambling indicate:

You will waste all you have. Pretty soon you'll lose all. Nothing left — no shoes.

You'll lose your shoes and hat and shirt and come back without anything.

You'll lose everything — including clothes.

You won't have any money, losing all — bracelets, ring, bridle, saddle, stock — and you'll be without shoes.

²⁷ Dyk, 1938, pp. 76, 78, 103.

²⁸ Leighton and Leighton, 1944, p. 13, point out that the Navaho fear of losing things leads to a profound mistrust of the future with a consequent tendency

You'll lose your money, bracelet, and finally lose your clothes.

Navaho anxiety over losing things is closely related to their anxiety over poverty. Don't gamble because you would lose, one is advised, but the phrase "you would go without and be poor" is usually tacked on. Thus one must not lose because: "then nothing left," "won't have anything to live on," "won't have anything," "not a penny in your pocket."

An interesting question is whether the fear of losing everything is a realistic one, i.e., do individual Navahos actually lose all they own? With respect to gambling, now and then a statement appears such as: "I heard of some people who lost everything — sheep and horses and jewels." But far more frequently appear such statements as: "I don't know anyone who lost everything." Or, "Never saw anybody lose a lot." Or, "I never saw or heard of a big winner or loser." ²⁸

Drinking is not disapproved on moral grounds, but rather because it is one of the quickest ways of dissipating one's wealth. Frank Miguelito volunteers that "I don't like to drink too much. It's wasted money." According to Mr. Mustache: "Father said not to drink whiskey or wine or you would lose all your property and won't have anything." The head of one household who spent most of his money on liquor is strongly disapproved by a Navaho woman interpreter who says: "He should keep his money for his family. They are starving and they are all in rags."

"Drinking whiskey is what I hate," another Navaho asserts. "Even if you haven't got anything, haven't got any money, broke, if you get to drinking you'll start to talking like you have a lot of money. And when you drink, whiskey gets you down, you roll in the sagebrush, in the mud. Next day you get up and your hair is all bushy and you don't have a penny. You're not rich then." Marcos, in some respects a deviant member of the Rimrock community, offers this confession: "When I was a drunkard I used to be a smoker too, and chewed tobacco. But sometimes I got drunk

and I would spend rather than save. "Such feelings may underlie what at first sight we are likely to call 'shiftlessness.'"

when I used to have lots of money and I bought whiskey with it. I would get kind of crazy and somebody might steal my money. When I got sober again I used to think about my money, what I did with it, and sometimes when I lay in bed at night I thought about it. What was the use of smoking, chewing tobacco, and whiskey? And I thought about all the things I spent the money for — cigarettes, chewing tobacco, and whiskey, and I found out it's not any use and I wanted to quit."

That it is the fear of losing "all and everything" rather than moral considerations which underlie the Navaho devaluation of drunkenness is apparent in statements which approve of drinking if it is done "the right way." For example: "I think a man who knows how to drink he might be all right he may not." Or, "If the Navahos learn how to drink I think it's all right." Or, "If I get drunk and don't hurt anybody, it don't bother me too much."

Of considerable interest is the frequency with which the Navaho bugaboo — the "bad man" — crops up in these injunctions, though the effectiveness of this technique of social control would appear to rest not upon the individual's recognition of what is "bad" but rather upon the individual's sensitivity to social disapprobation. The following are statements of this type:

A person who plays that game isn't worth anything.

It isn't good for them to play for money unless they're real bums.

The bad man always wins.

The loser doesn't amount to anything.

As with drinking, it is the fear of losing wealth which causes Navahos to deplore gambling. There would appear to be no fear of taking a chance or trying one's luck per se. Frederico Miguel, a conservative Navaho,

says: "I think playing games is all right, but not for money — then it is bad." However, the Rimrock Navahos' attitudes toward gambling may be more moralistic than in other Navaho areas due to Mormon influence.

A Mormon trader of the Rimrock community made this comment to a field worker: "Most of the Navahos around here as soon as they get a few dollars ahead they want to buy a pickup or something without thinking about how they're going to keep it up or anything." However, it is a real question whether Navaho expenditures on automobiles, farm machinery, jewelry, horse trappings and the like are in any way comparable to their often reckless spending for liquor, tobacco, and tearing about the country. For Navahos are accustomed to maintaining their assets in the form of material wealth which they can trade or pawn or give over as collateral on a credit extension in time of need, making such expenditures more comparable to capital investments.

This is perhaps reflected in the fact that although there are innumerable admonitions regarding losing, wasting, or spending, practically nothing is said about the reverse — saving. Rarely is found such advice as the following, directed to Gregorio at his wedding feast by the father of his bride: "Through the summer what you raise, harvest your crop, store them away for the winter time and try to save all your money if you can." ²⁹ Another example of interest in saving is found in this *TAT* reply, structured by a World War II veteran who wants to "go the white way": "Here's another Indian guy. He's joined the marines. . . . He just wondering whether to join this [dice] game, . . . think about saving his money for his future or gamble and losing. . . . so he decides to save. . . . [After the war he] takes GI training and makes a new life with the money he's been saving." ³⁰

"WORK HARD AND DON'T BE LAZY"

"We have to work hard to support ourselves and our families." This Navaho value, representing acceptance of brute necessity in making a living on slim resources, is a clear

adaptation to the reality of the situation. "You have to work hard. . . . You have to fight everything, the heat in summer and the cold. Everything is hard to get, even little

²⁹ Leighton and Leighton, 1944, p. 103.

³⁰ Vogt, 1951, p. 178.

things. . . . When you've acquired stocks you have to work on them day and night.' And, ". . . you have to go through many dangerous places, down in the arroyos, in the canyons, and climb up and down mountains. You have to kick sticks and rocks and get splinters in your feet and hands and be cut.'" ³¹

Thus, partly from necessity, hard work becomes elevated to a value. Such a statement as: "I never stop my weaving because I live by it" is at the explicitly economic end of the scale; whereas, for the Navaho who says, "I really care more about my work than anything else," work has become a top priority value. An unacculturated Navaho father even gave this advice: ". . . just keep working. That's the way to become a rich man.'" ³² Working as a means of obtaining money is sometimes stressed, e.g.: "Money is the only thing we are living on. Money is the main thing. We can earn it by working."

However, neither working for work's sake nor acquiring money for money's sake appears to lie at the root of the Navaho value regarding hard work. Such an expression as, "We all want to work for money," for example, is followed by: "But if you can work, you can be wearing some of these good clothes, you can be eating some of this food, you can have some money in your pocket, and you can use some of these good horses." Working for money is valued as means to a "good living," "enough to eat," "a handful of things."

Navaho statements regarding work are realistic, matter-of-fact: "His father used to make him get up before daylight and make him work"; "I had to work all the time—my father made me"; "I work all the time"; "I've been here all my life—working hard"; "He put in hard work raising horses and sheep and putting in farms. All the other people are talking about this man. . . ." ³³ Making a living the Navaho way is exceedingly difficult. That one must work hard is a basic value. Even in a drought year a Navaho leader had this to say respecting government relief: "No

matter how poor they are they are able to work."

One qualification must be noted here: the Navaho negative valuation of excesses also applies to work. Thus we find, in explanation of an illness: "It's because she does too much." Work must be done in moderation.

Throughout Navaho verbal statements regarding work there appears now and then the theme of working for one's "own" (presumably oneself and one's family). Witness the reply of Gregorio, the hand-trembler, on being asked if he ever wished to become a Singer: "I never had time, I was always working, herding sheep, working for Mexican, working for white man, working for my own." Or this remark, regarding a job loading logs on railway cars: "'And another thing, [my family] told me I didn't do anything at home to work for my own. So I study it over and think it over and soon I make up my mind to stay out of [that job].'" ³⁴

"Let everybody tend to his own business," makes the idea of working for one's own somewhat more explicit, while the following piece of parental advice hints at the underlying interpersonal basis: "'After you get all these things you won't have to go around and beg for them. You'll have everything for yourself.'" ³⁵ Self-sufficiency and individualism rather than interdependence and cooperation are thus implicit in these statements. Regarding one of her neighbors, a Navaho woman has this to say: "I respect him. He knows his business and what he is doing. And he is friendly to everybody. He's trying to make a living for himself—working at his own home." And the same idea of individualistic self-sufficiency may lie behind the following remark (which scarcely describes the informant's behavior): "I like to stay home and work. That's why I don't go to sings very often."

Industriousness is the mark of a good man, a good wife, a good son-in-law. To the Navaho, industry and productivity are proof of goodness. Thus, according to Old Man

³¹ Dyk, 1938, pp. 75-76, 80.

³² Dyk, 1938, p. 76.

³³ Dyk, 1947, p. 92.

³⁴ Leighton and Leighton, 1944, pp. 98, 132.

³⁵ Dyk, 1938, p. 76.

Roberto: "Good men are men who talk well, who work well." Or, speaking of his deceased wife, one man says: "She was a pretty good woman, working all the time weaving blankets." Old Man Sam avers that "a good worker makes a good son-in-law."

And as a good worker is a good person, so a lazy worker is a bad person; and one who does not work at all is unquestionably a witch. inasmuch as witches are socially disapproved and thus act in terms of socially disapproved values. An individual suspected by many of witchcraft is absolved from guilt in the eyes of one Navaho who says: "he works hard. A witch doesn't do anything — just loaf around all the time." A confessed witch himself testifies that "... [witchery] is the very easiest way to get rich. You don't have to work hard for it."³⁶

Whether because of rangeland population pressure, desire for steady wages, or rejection of the Navaho way, more and more Navahos are coming to work for the whites.³⁷ The traditional devaluation of this sort of work inheres, in part at least, in a Navaho's explanation for giving up his job as policeman: "About that time my father, my mother, my sister, my brother they told me it wasn't very good job to have and they wanted me to quit. I soon took my family's advice. I thought it wasn't the best thing for me to do." The general attitude toward other types of wagework is expressed by the following statement: "Seems like all we could earn is just our meals." As for working for white ranchers, "Even the Navahos don't want to work for a dollar a day."

However, the younger people are beginning to assimilate the American success pattern into their value systems. For example, John Nez, a veteran of World War II, is interested in "having a good job and getting ahead." Another veteran of three years' service claims that "If I don't get in that farming class I could go to Albuquerque and try to be a mechanic or something like that. I don't care about the money but if I weren't going to this school I would be working out someplace with a good job."

³⁶ Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 113.

³⁷ According to Vogt, 1951, p. 96, wage-work in white-operated enterprises is almost wholly engaged

To make money rather than to get ahead seems to be the motivation of the less acculturated who work for wages. Thus, speaking of his job on a railroad near Salt Lake, a Navaho says: "Well, I don't like the work much but I just wanted to get hold of some money." Regarding working for white ranchers, another says: "Whenever I have a chance I work for the Mormons and earn a little money to buy some supplies for my sheep camp and my own home."

During a period of severe drought and privation, a Navaho leader in the Rimrock community told his people to leave their sheep and arid land for wagework. He brought pressure upon them to do so by using his connection with government relief authorities. However, Navaho emotional attachment to flocks and herds was too strong to be ruptured even by the threat of starvation.

If wagework must be taken up, a Navaho often would rather work for a white man than for one of his own people for the following reason: "Some of these boys say that if we start to work for the Indians we won't get as much pay as we're getting from white people. If any of us start to work for Indians they will keep us waiting and waiting for many years. With white people we get paid right away."

An aspect of the Navaho attitude toward wagework is illustrated by the comment of a Texan rancher who pays for the groceries of his workers during the time they are working (fencing or clearing land) and then pays them off at the end of the job. He claims that the Navahos work harder this way than they do when paid by the day. His scheme is closer to their usual economic situation, for all the cash comes at once — during the harvest and lambing season.

"My father didn't want to let me fool around. That way I'd never get lazy," an old Navaho says. Wealth and possessions are "hard to get if we're lazy," another counsels to the young. Among the Navaho, laziness is disvalued because it interferes with the accumulation of wealth. Consider these statements: "... you don't want to be lazy, ... If in by persons of lower economic levels and practically never by members of families with large holdings of land and livestock.

you're lazy you can't get anything. If you do nothing but sleep and lie around you won't get anything. . . . So you mustn't sleep too long, and you must not be lazy.'" Another: "You'll have everything, that is if you're not lazy.'" ³⁸

Laziness is also penalized by social sanctions, as this narrative attests:

At noon we heard them calling us to come over and get some lunch. So then we went back, and everything was cooked. While we were eating they started making fun of me again. They said, "That's the way a lazy man does. That's the way to discover a lazy man. Now we know who's lazy. We all know now that one fellow is lazy in this crowd. Only one man here with us is lazy. The rest are all good and strong and lively, all willing to work, all wanting something to do. They don't just want to play around with their hoes. But we know now there's one fellow right here with us who's lazy. All he wants is to play around with his hoe." They were laughing, and I was so ashamed. When I looked at the girl a few times she was laughing too. But I just made believe I didn't care what they were saying.³⁹

Navahos avoid laziness in order to acquire possessions and to escape ridicule or suspicion of witchcraft. "If you are lazy people will make fun of you."⁴⁰ Nevertheless, they are often accused of laziness. A white woman in a Rimrock trader's store is reported to have said: "The Navahos around here are lazy-good-for-nothing. They will not weave very much. They live off almost nothing, and if they have anyone in the armed forces they live like millionaires. Those on the reservation make nice rugs but these around here are too lazy to do anything." And Alice Mario, an acculturated woman who has now reverted to Navaho ways, admits to this: "Navahos don't work so hard. If they want to go somewhere they don't have to stay and work on the farm. They just take it easy."

And, true, there are numerous examples of Navaho improvidence. To cite but one instance, in 1948 Navaho workers refused to go to work at their jobs in the sawmill while they were drawing relief food. But white employers find the Navahos good workers while they are on the job, though they cannot be

counted on to appear regularly, due to their family and ceremonial responsibilities.

The Navahos have traditionally placed a high value on "learning a lot" — with primary emphasis on learning "how the old people found things out." According to Bill Begay: "It helps if you have a good mother and father who tell you lots of stories all the time. Then maybe you'll know something by the time you are twenty." Ceremonial knowledge is of most importance. A "farther" tells his nephew: "'Now you've learned all that I know, all the songs, prayers and stories. I wanted you to learn, for you are my only nephew.'" ⁴¹

Learning skills — herding, weaving, silver-smithing — is also stressed. Old Man Hat counsels:

'... you said you wanted to learn something about the stocks and properties. If you want to learn, learn it right now. You're young. While you're a young man you've got to learn. Learn about these things and get them. If you learn about it you'll surely get them. You'll get everything, and soon you won't know what to do with it all.' ⁴²

Others advise: "learn how to do weaving" or "become a Singer to make money."

Traditional forms of knowledge and skills are giving way to white "know-how." The value on "learning a lot" persists, but now it is white education, learning English, and mechanical skills that are aspired to. The tremendous impact of white culture is unmistakable on the individual who philosophizes to a field worker: "People are beginning to have big knowledge. I look at your car today and I think back to 1912. At that time we saw only a few things of this world — all these machineries and everything."

The relation of education to material wealth is now well understood by the younger generation, as these statements attest:

Navahos could have a better living if they had more education.

Navaho children should go to school as long as possible. Indian children should learn as much as they can so they can get out in the world and make a living like the white people do.

³⁸ Dyk, 1938, pp. 75-76, 78.

³⁹ Dyk, 1938, pp. 245-46.

⁴⁰ Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 220.

⁴¹ Dyk, 1938, p. 81.

⁴² Dyk, 1938, p. 87.

When the Navaho children finish schooling some of them will be able to learn some trade so they can start their own business and also improve their home life. And also improve the whole community.

When they get educated they could come back and find a job, make some money and give it to their mothers.

I wish I had finished school because I could be

well off now. Navaho people should go to school. They might get something out of it and live better.

My boys want to finish their education and get a job somewhere else. I'd like to have them both go to college. I don't know if it will be possible, but I'd like that. One of them was offered a job at Window Rock as a mechanic but I advised him to finish his education first.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC VALUES

RESEARCH into the socio-economic aspects of wealth accumulation focuses upon the relationship of acquisitive values to the structuring of Navaho interpersonal relationships. In this connection, it is important to ascertain the degree to which the Navahos are aware of economic gradations among their people; the extent to which prestige can be gained through amassing wealth; whether desirable statuses are achievable thereby; what attitudes Navahos maintain toward the rich; and what social limitations are placed upon acquisition of wealth. It is also relevant to the socio-economic aspects of wealth accumulation to determine what social obligations are thrust upon the wealthy, what attitudes Nav-

ahos maintain toward the poor, and the extent to which indigent members of the community are under social pressure to improve their economic status. Further, it is desirable to discover whether there is evidence of economic leveling mechanisms, and whether poor people are recipients of special benefits or assistance. Finally, it is of interest to know if economic cooperation or competition is organized on an individual, family, extended family, clan, or community basis, and what the ethical ideals are which underlie economic activity. A study of the verbal statements from the files yields considerable material along this line of inquiry.

"DON'T BE TOO RICH"

Nowhere among the resources available for this study is there any indication that the Navahos explicitly disvalue the accumulation of wealth. Quite to the contrary there are numerous statements enjoining one to work hard in order to accumulate lots of property. Nevertheless, there is an impressive quantity of evidence which compels the investigator inferentially to postulate "don't be too rich" as an implicit value underlying economic behavior and setting limits to the undue accumulation of wealth.

By American standards, no Rimrock Navaho would be considered "too rich" — indeed the majority would be considered destitute — though there do exist a few large accumulations of livestock controlled by a small number of families. In the Rimrock community there are a handful of families with fairly large sheep holdings, concentrating a high proportion of the income at the apex of the economic pyramid. None but these families make what Americans would consider "a good living"; most families own an entirely inadequate number of livestock for their own support.

The Navahos are acutely conscious of economic stratification, though their awareness

is limited to the two extremes — the very rich and the very poor — both of which are feared and distrusted as constituting threats to the ideal patterns of conformism. The rich and the poor are themselves conscious of their distinctive economic status in the community and feel somewhat insecure in it. In a Rimrock election in 1948 political leadership was contested by two parties — the big sheep owners who were "easy" on their own people, on the one hand, and those who wanted to "go the white way," on the other, but traditionally men of wealth have been avoided in the selection of political leaders. Nevertheless, the rich exercise a good deal of authority, but not in formal terms, and indeed even have names symbolizing power. Their status is thus symbolized in other ways than the possession of property: for example, the ability to command the services of prestigious Singers from other areas.

We see then that in the Navaho population "ricos" occupy a well-defined status and exert considerable influence. It is rather the social estimate of the roles enacted by the rich which provides evidence that overaccumulation of wealth is deprecated. For the rich as a group are hated, resented, distrusted, avoided,

and feared, as well as envied, and they are kept in check by certain social obligations and supernatural sanctions, to be described later.

"The people hate anyone who gets rich" is a Navaho statement summarizing this attitude. The declaration, "rich people do not pay poor people for use of their land," indicates distrust, as does the following: "They say that man tells lies. They say maybe he's just making money." In other words, getting rich is associated with behavior which is disapproved and deprecated. That Navahos also fear a wealthy man is well exemplified as follows: "Bunch Of Whiskers wasn't a headman, but everybody knew him and feared him. He was the richest Navaho on the reservation."¹

The rich, though hated, are also envied their prestige, their stockholdings, their "hard goods," their ability to maintain more than one wife. This envy appears in such remarks as: "You know all those sheep that man had? They don't really belong to him. They all belong to his sisters and his mother." The following statement expresses this envy and resentment in graphic terms: "We are doing the hard work out there with the sheep — in wintertime with the cold weather, in summertime with the hot weather. And we always get thirsty in summertime. All those things we go through every year, and we don't have credit on those sheep that we're working on. So those people with credit they just stay home — whenever they want to go they just draw the money out. So we are so busy with the sheep and everything and we're getting nothing."

If being wealthy were a basic value in Navaho life, one would expect to find rich men in public office, at least elected as headmen or delegates to the tribal council, though in meetings, outstanding leadership is subordinated to the principle of unanimity. In Rimrock, however, such men, though exercising informal economic influence, rarely are selected for political leadership.² Underlying this fact is the implicit dictum: "Don't be too rich."

Political leaders are chosen rather "because of the way they talk things over," "know how the old people found things out," and are "interested in their people." The attribute most frequently extolled in a leader is "good speech," "speaks his mind," "talks lots of different ways," "always says a speech." The dissociation of wealth and political authority is made surprisingly explicit in the following account of a verbal exchange in a tribal council meeting: "What kind of authority do you have? You think you had lot of sheep, lot of livestock, but I don't think that you had authority. You just a stingy man . . . I don't care how much money you have. I don't have any money, maybe you have the money but I can make up authority just the same as you can."

On the other hand, there are occasional statements definitely linking leadership and the accumulation of wealth, but these are made by Navaho veterans of World War II, who presumably had absorbed more of the American value system than their tribesmen. In three cases a leader is cited as being "good" because, among other things, "he has a pick-up." A statement representing this point of view is the following, with reference to a "good leader": "He's got good sense, talks good, teaches lots of things we should not do, has a good bunch of sheep, big horses, fat too. Keeps them up in a corral. Has lots of feed for horses and sheep. Has a nice corral and fence and has a new house with all kinds of furniture inside, good stove and table, bed, cupboard, and also he talks English. Seems to me he should be the first leader of the Indians here." This attitude may represent more a desire to "go the white way" than to accumulate property — though these may well be one and the same thing.

The complex of attitudes toward the wealthy has been pointed out as an indication that "don't be too rich" is an implicit Navaho value. This evidence is supported by practices which bring strong economic and supernatural pressure to bear against the rich. Excessive accumulation of wealth is prevented

¹Dyk, 1938, p. 357.

²Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 69, state that "most headmen and delegates to the tribal council

have come from the lower economic half of the group."

by the demands upon wealthy Navahos to sponsor ceremonials, provide food, and pay the fees of ceremonial practitioners. They are also expected to "help out" their less fortunate relatives and neighbors. This liberality is their sole means of mitigating the apprehension felt by their tribesmen, the suspicion that their wealth was obtained in some underhanded manner — probably with the aid of witchcraft.

A man considered to be "very good" — for which phrase the nearest Navaho equivalent is translated as "Navaho with a lot" — is described as follows: "Well, he used to be a rich man, now he is poor. Used to be very honest to his people. Always helping people." Indeed, Navaho experts have discovered not a few individuals who have impoverished themselves by giving away their goods and money. According to a Navaho leader, "You can't get rich if you look after your relatives right."³ That helping the poor is considered the special obligation of the rich emerges in this advice from Old Man Hat: "I told you that I had a handful of things, and that you'd be that way sometime, . . . And you can help the poor and others with it all the time. That's after you get all these things, but before that you must be stingy."⁴

The strongest sanction preventing Navahos from accumulating too many possessions is the fear of witchcraft: "Don't be too rich" or you are most assuredly a witch. "Don't be too rich" or the witches will get you.

Witchery and wealth are inextricably linked. Witchcraft is explicitly disallowed; sufficient wealth to differentiate one from the average is implicitly disallowed. Although the Navahos realistically acknowledge that in order to make a good living one must work hard, they nevertheless feel that too great or too little success in accumulating possessions has little to do with industriousness. Such extremes lie outside the range of man's rational control; they are attributable to supernatural intervention. Accusations of witch-

craft, while sometimes directed against Singers, the powerful, the prestigious, or the poor, are most often leveled at persons of wealth.

If nothing else, witchery offers an explanation for the affluence of the fortunate few. Consider this typical allegation: "He's a witch. That's why he has lots of sheep, horses, and cattle, and beads of all kinds, and all kinds of skins."⁵ In fact, such persons become witches for the very purpose of getting rich. "The reason they make bad medicine is because they want to get all his property." Why choose this means? "It is the very easiest way to get rich. You don't have to work hard." A 15-year-old boy affirms: "The Navaho Wolves [witches] are rich. The other day a teacher asked how a man can get rich, and William or James wrote on the blackboard, 'Be a Navaho Wolf.' When a Navaho Wolf unburies a dead man, he takes away his silver belt and sells it at Farmington, or away over at Phoenix."⁶

Robbing the dead is one of the means whereby witches acquire their wealth: "They kill rich people. Somehow I don't know how. They take stuff and put people in the ground and kill them. Navaho people wear lots of jewelry when they get buried. Then the witch comes along, takes it off, and comes home and sells it. That's what happened to Old Man Gerardo. They buried him, then a witch came along and took all his rings and bracelets off." Another alleged method is the following: "Sometimes they are just going to hurt a man, not kill him. Just so as to hurt him bad so he won't get well very quick. Give him a long sickness — two years or two and a half years in bed." A diagnostician — an accomplice of the witch — is then called in to recommend a Singer. The witch-Singer "keeps promising cures the next day" in order to "get big fees."

The rich are not only suspected of having gained their wealth through witchcraft, but they are also constantly in fear of having their wealth taken from them by this means.⁷

* Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 221.

² Dyk, 1938, pp. 80-81.

³ Dyk, 1938, p. 357.

⁴ Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 132.

⁷ It has been postulated that one "latent function" of witchcraft is to prevent undue accumulation of wealth and to temper too rapid rise in social mobility. Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 63.

Innumerable statements point out that the rich are among the favorite victims of witches. For example, a crippled witch had been seen "all through this Rimrock country" early in 1948, at which time he visited "all the rich people." "It [frenzy witchcraft] is . . . for getting sheep and money from a rich young woman."⁸ "They want to get the best ones who are rich." "And use a whole lot on our tribe which is rich." Frank Miguelito would rather be in Kansas City or Chicago for this

reason: "Too many witches here. They kill rich people." Jo Miguel succinctly verbalizes this pressure: "Rich people always have to be afraid that someone is going to take something of theirs and make this bad medicine over them." The rich are on the defensive. Mucho, a wealthy Rimrock resident, is believed to have developed definite persecution feelings. "Rich people," consequently, "don't like to say how many sheep they have."

"NEVER GET POOR"

"I'm telling you this because I don't want you to be poor."⁹ This remark, prefacing a father's advice to his son, sets forth the cardinal negative value in Navaho life — avoidance of poverty. "Poverty" is a powerful and mysterious monster in Navaho mythology, one of the beings that plague human life. Fresh dirt is thrown on the roof of the sweat-house before entering to circumvent this monster's design.

From the most conservative to the most acculturated Navaho, this value persists. One of the more prestigious curers has this to say: "My father told me not to forget what he said. He said if I did I'd never get broke or poor. I've obeyed my father. That's why I've gotten on so well. If I hadn't minded my father and mother I'd be without anything. I'd go broke all the time — no shoes, blankets, sheep, horses. I've told my sons the same thing." A prominent Singer emphasized the same point at a local Sing when he said: "If you're not going to listen to this talk, what I am saying to you, you're going to be poor and hungry all the time. If anybody else starts talking to you he'll say the same thing. He'll talk on the good side. We want to put you on the good side."

One of the most acculturated Navahos has this to say: "I was brought up from the gutter. I'm still poor and it scares me to be poor."

Although sometimes made explicit, as in the statements above, the fear of being destitute is more often an implicit value underlying the Navaho attitude of ridicule toward people

who are poor. Thus Mr. Mustache remarks, "They were poor — everybody laughed at them." Mucho says the same thing: "They were pretty poor at the time. Everybody laughed at them." A former rich Navaho says: "We who had a lot of head of sheep didn't look after those people who were poor." A curer who apparently looks down on poor people says: "Let them go to hell." The poor are rejected precisely because they have no possessions. This attitude is evidenced time and again in statements emphasizing that some poor person "has nothing of his own." Thus it is said of Mrs. Aquino: "That woman is very poor. Her husband gives her nothing. no blanket." Or, "This fellow didn't have anything at all; he was poor."¹⁰ Sometimes the lacking possessions are specifically enumerated, as in this statement: "These children are very poor. They have no clothes." Or consider this favorite Navaho expression regarding someone very poor: "They didn't even have a dog or cat."

In fact, a person having no property is just plain "bad — hasn't even a dog." And, of course, in Navaho society being "bad" invariably involves the suspicion of witchcraft. A confessed "witch" testifies that the poor act as accomplices: "These men will be the kind that haven't got anything — just poor men. . . . These people who help the witch — they scatter out among the people." Thus the poor are not only rejected and made fun of; they are also feared.

It is perhaps this fear of witchery on the

⁸ Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 110.

⁹ Dyk, 1938, p. 253.

¹⁰ Dyk, 1938, p. 323.

part of the destitute which accounts for the occasional expression of compassion for them — a sort of insurance against their "evil medicine" — though no doubt the value on "helping out" contributes to the benevolent attitude. A typical example of this sentiment is the assertion that a "good" man allows others to use his water resources for their livestock. "Same way with his range. Lets poor people use that too." A Chairman of Council was disliked for the following reason: "He isn't for the poor people. He wants to go with the rich ones. Even though Chee Dodge was rich he talked for all the people and was for the poor ones as well as the rich ones."

How do the unfortunate poor feel about their status as social rejects? For the most part they are acutely conscious of their poverty but, despite occasional cases of pretensions of greater affluence, general acceptance of this condition is the rule — explicitly stated as follows: "I have always been a poor man. I do not know a single song."¹¹ Or, "They don't like me. I guess they find me too poor." A less complacent attitude is also found, for example: "We poor people want to eat just the same as rich people."

In addition to the frequently expressed

negative valuation on being too poor or too rich, there is an occasional positive insistence that the Navaho way is the middle way — all share the resources at their command and the produce of their labor. "I don't think it's right for some Navahos to have more sheep than others. They should all have the same amount of sheep. In order to get the same amount of sheep for each family, they should let the poorer families increase their herds so that they can make a living. And the ones with more sheep should lease land besides their allotted land. Because it isn't fair to let the richer ones take advantage of all the Indian land we have now." According to one informant, Chee Dodge, whose estate at his death was valued at \$200,000, expressed the view that "rich ones should not go on ahead but should come back and go together with the poor ones — everybody going along together." A Singer was enjoined to set the same fees for everyone: "That's for poor people and rich people, for the both sides." It may then be said, considering the practices favoring economic leveling and the stigma on the extremes of rich and poor, that the ideal pattern excludes economic status differentiation.

"LOOK AFTER YOUR FAMILY"

"What we want," says Sam Silversmith, "is to get along with everybody. Let everybody tend to his own business, work for his own home and work for his family, in that way we think we can get along, in that way we think we can get somewhere." But when a Navaho works for his nuclear family, he is working for the basic unit in an informal network of economic cooperation involving extended families, matrilineal (and to some extent patrilineal) clans and, for specific projects, local non-kin groups.

Although economic cooperation is a response to the demands of the semiarid wastes of the environment, it persists as a self-sustaining value in Navaho culture. The individual cannot shirk his social responsibility without endangering both his means of sub-

sistence and his acceptance in the society. The Navahos place a high value on "helping out" generally, but the greater emphasis is on looking after one's "family." This value, widely stated in explicit terms, is typically verbalized as follows: "All the other people are talking about this man, how he helps his family."¹² Of course, people would likewise talk about this man if he failed to help his family, such gossip being one of the principal forms of social control in Navaho society.

The reason for working hard and accumulating wealth, according to Old Man Hat, is so that "... your children will have everything. They won't starve, they won't be ragged, they won't hunger for meat and other things. They'll have everything, if you have it on hand for them."¹³ One does not stop

¹¹ Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 220.

¹² Dyk, 1947, p. 92.

¹³ Dyk, 1938, pp. 80-81.

helping one's children when they reach maturity. A mother of two children remarks, "When we are around here my folks help us out." Various relatives may assist. John Nez asked one field worker to mail in a payment to a loan company "after my folks collect the money among themselves." And the children also look after their parents. Victor, for example, gave up a regular job to come home. He says, "My mother is getting old and gray-headed, can't do much work of her own, so I thought I would help my mother along while she is living." A Navaho veteran, when asked if he thought he had changed by virtue of his war experience, replied: "I didn't change much. It looks like I didn't learn much when I was away to help around home. There was nothing I learned to help my folks. All I learned was how to kill a man."

Family solidarity and economic cooperation is at its highest during preparations for curing ceremonies when many hands are needed to assist in the chants, the provision of mutton for the many spectators, the purchasing of medicinal plants and buckskins, and paying the fees of diagnosticians, herbalists, diviners, and Singers. Kluckhohn and Leighton estimate that no less than 20 per cent of the total family income in the Rimrock area is spent in this way.¹⁴ They and other field workers have noted that even well-off families have become bankrupt by paying for one cure after another.

Bill Begay said of a ragged medicine man: "Seems like he gives away everything he gets for Sings for his wife's relatives. He doesn't mind giving everything away." In a letter to a field worker, Robert Baca writes: "I have had a terribly busy winter. I am sure sorry I lost two of my children and I have still more trouble. One of my boys has been sick for a month now. We are feeling pretty bad all the time now. I'm in the worst place I've ever been in my life. Due to the sickness of my children I spent all my money and gave away my sheep and goats to medicine men for Sings for the children that I lost last winter. So I had a very hard time." It is said of another Rimrock Navaho: "That man is sure poor now. He had too many Sings."

Although laziness and dissipation are strongly condemned, there is nevertheless effective pressure upon the more prosperous members of the family to assist the impecunious and improvident. The managers of the Navaho cooperative store in Rimrock ran into the red largely because they were unwilling to limit the credit extended to kinfolk. Even Mr. Mustache, a leader in the Rimrock community, went broke in late life because, as one trader put it, he had 'too many sons-in-law.' And a local leader says: "The Singers don't get rich because they don't know how to take care of their money. They give it all to their dependents." The value "look after your family" acts as an economic leveler.

On the other hand, family cooperation ensures survival. Speaking of an old lady, his grandmother's sister, one man says: "She's all alone. She had to put the sheep in the corral to come to the store today. It's just like my mother. She's all alone with the sheep. Has to haul her own wood and water. Mario is lucky. He has a big family." In this respect a large family is an economic asset. But the system of family cooperation also has its abuses. With sheep owned by individuals pooled in common herds, shady deals are all too easily pulled off. It is expected that when a young man marries into an "outfit" he will become more a hired hand than a husband.

Exploitation of children is not unknown. In more sparsely settled areas they are often kept out of school in order to herd sheep, being deprived of adequate clothing or share of the stock. The members of one family deprived their children of money contributed by others for their schooling. Another boy's mother "used to cuff and beat him, make him work, and disposed of the property left to him by his father." Such treatment is later resented by the more acculturated, as shown by these statements: "My father didn't take care of me when I was a little kid . . . I just went barefooted and my clothes were worn out." And: "In those days when I was herding ram, I had bare feet and all my toes were bleeding. And it was pretty hard to walk on the rough bare grounds, and so sometimes I got a piece of bark from a tree and tied it

¹⁴ Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 161.

around my feet with a string. Even though I had a mother and father and sister and brother they didn't take care of me. They

had just one store in Rimrock, and at that time everything was cheap to buy, but they didn't buy me a pair of shoes or pants."

"HELP PEOPLE OUT"

Navaho economic cooperation, rooted in the family, is generalized to include sharing with neighbors and friends—whenever there is anything to share. Old Mexican, says a headman, "... tries to help everyone with whatever he has ... He takes awfully good care of himself; he never gets mad, or says bad words, and helps everybody. That's what you call a smart man."¹⁵ Helping out is particularly evidenced in the case of curing ceremonies. "When some person gets sick we always help each other." With regard to "helping out during Sings" a wealthy man is praised as the "best man I know this way. He'll do whatever people ask him to do." The same man is included in the following commendation: "They sure are good neighbors. They are always stopping by to ask if everything is all right."

"I sure try hard not to let you feed the people," a friend told Bill Begay, while a Mormon resident of Rimrock said of Bill: "He can't resist the pressure of other people to give them things or spend money for them." Bill himself admires this quality in another man, of whom he says: "Always helping people. He can help a man. He is not a rich man but he helps all around. Helps anybody." Mr. Mustache tells matter-of-factly of his own generosity: "I used to have lots of horses. People would come from the reservation and ask for a horse. I'd give them one." That such sharing is reciprocal is shown by this statement from Jo Miguel: "I just work in the field all the time cutting weeds for my uncle and Old Mr. Mustache. We just help each other out."

As generosity is valued, so is stinginess disapproved. A prominent Singer is criticized for his undependability: "One time he will help you a lot, next time won't do anything for you." A Navaho was publicly castigated

for stinginess: "You're just a stingy man, that's all you are ... You don't help anybody."

Stinginess would not appear to be universally deprecated, if the following statements are in any way representative: "'You want to be stingy. Even though they say you're stingy, be stingy. You don't want to give everything you have to the people. If you do that soon you'll have nothing. Remember what I've told you, you must not lose, kill or give away young ewes, young mares and cows, because, as I told you, there's a million in one of those. Keep them all for yourself, be stingy with them.'" Or: "'A lot of Indians may say you're stingy. ... pay no attention to them, ...'"¹⁶ Since the individual who gave the above advice also extolled the value of "helping out," it may be assumed that stinginess was not advocated per se but only in so far as it would prevent impoverishment. Even noting this qualification, such statements as the following must be considered: "Rich people can't help poor people. When Old Man Sam dies maybe the people in his clan will help out, maybe they won't."

With the increase in wagework and integration with the white economy, the traditional patterns of informal cooperation are beginning to break down. "In the old days there was a lot of visiting and helping with work. Now you have to pay money to get anyone to come and help in your fields."

Organized economic cooperation, beyond the informal pooling of labor and neighborly "helping out," rarely occurs except in the case of temporary group projects—usually initiated by the Indian Service—such as setting up a cooperative store or blacksmith shop, or building hogans for children near the day schools. Group projects are foreign to the ideology of loosely organized reciprocal aid on the family level. Perhaps in re-

¹⁵ Dyk, 1947, pp. 92-93.

¹⁶ Dyk, 1938, pp. 78, 76.

sponse to white pressure, the Navahos have become aware of their inability to evoke collective action, so that remarks like the following are not uncommon: "Things are really rotten. No cooperation between the people. Nothing ever gets done." Or: "The people don't cooperate. Some think one way and want to go that way. Some think another way, and all going different." Or: "The people don't cooperate in everything."

Navaho ethics in the area of economic activity, besides calling for a high degree of sharing and mutual help, condemn cheating and stealing—or in Navaho, "bothering" other people's things. "You can't get rich without cheating some people. Cheating people is the wrong way. That way gets you into trouble. Men should be honest to get along."¹⁷ Parental advice never fails to

stress these injunctions: "Father said not to steal and not to lie."

The Navahos typically phrase such admonitions in terms of the virtues of the "good" man. A good woman, for example, doesn't "bother some other woman's tools." A good man is one who "minds his own business." A "bad" man, on the other hand, is described as "a man who wants to beat you all the time. A storekeeper or any other kind. Beat some money out of you." It is said of a man accused of being a witch (the archetype of "bad" man): "He just stole other people's songs." Despite these injunctions, thefts do occur, particularly in the more acculturated areas. This may partially explain why Navaho women convert their wealth into silver jewelry and ornamentation which they can wear.

¹⁷ Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 221.

OBJECTS VALUED

THE foregoing examination of Navaho statements regarding wealth accumulation suggests the major types of objects valued. It remains only to give a systematic account of these and to point out their place in the pattern of acquisitive values. The Navaho language itself emphasizes property by classifying it, structurally, into subgroups which have no counterparts in English, e.g., "hard goods," "soft goods," "flexible goods," embodied in verb class stems. These concepts can be translated into English but are not habitually used by those who speak English in categorizing their world.

"Hard goods," including jewelry of various kinds (silver, coral, shell, and especially turquoise), rank high in the hierarchy of objects valued. Such possessions often take the place of money in transactions and also represent a form of investment inasmuch as they are frequently pawned.¹ Though their clothes may be ragged and torn, Navaho women still wear strings of beads and turquoise and silver bracelets. Left Handed's father advises: "You ought to trade your cattle for beads, turquoise and silverware, things like that are worth-while."² Navaho acquisitiveness regarding money — also classified as "hard goods" — has been demonstrated by statements previously cited. "Soft goods" — including clothing, blankets, and hides — account for the greatest annual per capita expenditures, next to food. Thus Steve Chamiso insists he isn't getting rich because "we spend it all for food and clothes."

The Navahos value their sheep perhaps more than any other material object. Thus even a convert to white religion says: "When I started with the sheep that became all my work and all my life." Another Navaho says, "All I thought about was having lots of sheep, that was why I was always doing something."³

¹All of the adult informants in the study by Roberts, 1951, had pawned their jewelry to traders at one time or another, although pawning was disliked. He reports (p. 62): "Theoretically, these articles could be sold after a period of time, but in practice the traders kept the jewelry until it was

And conservative Mr. Mustache says: "Sheep are very very good, I think. Even the white traders like to buy wool, pelts, lambs, and build up their store. Sheep are better than cattle." An old Navaho woman reports that on pay day her people "... don't want to take the money, rather take the sheep, ..."⁴ Navaho children are given sheep of their own to take care of and are assigned their own earmarks for them, thus acquiring at an early age a high value on livestock. However, one Navaho veteran reports: "I myself am not much interested in sheep business, because it's too much trouble. Have to look after them every day. I think a person can make a good living by raising hogs and chickens and some cows and better horses and do good farming. That's what I'm really interested in."

The more acculturated Navahos, particularly war veterans, are increasingly interested in machines. Many own automobiles in which they "travel around going places." Others acquire pickup trucks to assist in securing their livelihood. Some have bought farm equipment, planters, tractors, or portable sheep shearing machinery. When an anthropologist asked Frank Miguelito what he would buy if he had a lot of money to spend, he responded immediately: "Horse and wagon and farm equipment." One war veteran of three years' service said: "I'm trying to get some farm machinery, cultivators and all like that. Before next spring I'd like to get all those things." Another veteran, when asked by a field worker to compare white ways and Navaho ways, replied: "It's better to be white way, but Navahos ways are different. Navahos like it but don't have nothing. They have no money, no machines. When they have machines and make things they make money. Navahos might like white way, but they don't have nothing."

redeemed: . . . Ownership of jewelry was a type of saving."

²Dyk, 1938, p. 350.

³Dyk, 1947, p. 19.

⁴Leighton and Leighton, 1944, p. 113.

With the increasing population and livestock pressure on the land, farm- and range-land, which is owned by families and inherited matrilineally, has received greater emphasis as an object of value. When asked by a field worker what he would do for his people if he had all the money he needed, a Navaho answered without hesitation: "The first thing I'd do is buy all the land around here." John Nez asserts: "Almost all the Indians talk about land. They want to keep the land they have. The reason I say more land is so they can have more livestock. That's the only occupation they know."

But valued above all material goods is the ceremonial property, including chants, good luck songs, religious prayers, stories, sacred names, and magic formulae along with such associated tangible equipment as talking prayer-sticks, herbs, and medicinal bags.⁵ Much of the intangible ceremonial property can be bought and sold. And the possessor of ceremonial knowledge, if he also demonstrates skill in retelling stories and making sand paintings, is rewarded both in money and in prestige.⁶ That knowledge is valued by the Navaho in money terms is further evidenced by the response of a Navaho woman to a field worker who, distributing gifts, offered her a quarter. The woman refused the money saying, "I don't know enough to be worth a quarter." The Navahos are convinced that white people are interested in learning their medicinal formulae for the purpose of making money. Old Man Hat attests to the practical advantages of acquiring ceremonial knowledge: "There are lots of people who can't learn these songs, and now you've learned a few of them. When you start using them on your stocks and properties, if you do it right, you'll soon have everything."⁷ Conversely, a poor man is also poor in intangible property. Thus an old

Navaho says: "I have always been a poor man. I do not know a single song."⁸

Viewed in the context of economic values, ceremonial knowledge is not only a means to wealth and an object of wealth, it is also a form of insurance. One Navaho remarks: "Knowing a good story will protect your home and children and property."⁹ Another says: "Even if you have only one song for the sheep you'll raise them, nothing will bother them, . . ."¹⁰

The last type of object of wealth to be considered here is sexual property. The numerous statements from Navahos which impute to women an economic value justify the classification of sexual property as at least an implicit object of wealth.¹¹ Substantiating this classification is the custom of giving a marriage gift, usually livestock—ideally horses—to the bride's clansmen. More is given for virgins than for women previously married. Marriage, with its economic exchanges, is used to consolidate kinship ties, for many persons are involved in the contributions and distributions.

That one must have money to get and keep a wife is shown by such statements as the following by Jo Miguel: "Well, I was thinking about marrying. I wonder how I can get married. Maybe if you have plenty sheep, or horses, maybe then I can get along with the woman." One of the Navaho veterans, describing a *TAT* picture, has a Navaho woman answer a soldier who has just proposed to her: "No, my husband is all right. He's working all the time, buying some cloth and blanket. He takes care of me good, so I don't want to marry you." Another informant says: "I'm not planning to get married. I'm too poor to get married. Can't afford it. That's the way I think about it. I always thought what's the use of getting married if you can't afford it."

⁵ Haile (1938, p. 13) has written this corroborative statement: "Among singers the concept of non-material property, as represented in their knowledge, is firmly established."

⁶ Rapoport (1954), points out that the possessors of the most property of this sort, namely the ceremonial practitioners, comprised the core of the opposition to the missionary movement. Their prestige, based on their command of mythology, fortified their resistance to acculturation pressures.

⁷ Dyk, 1938, p. 80.

⁸ Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, p. 220.

⁹ Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946, pp. 166-67.

¹⁰ Dyk, 1938, p. 76.

¹¹ An explicit statement of this configuration, according to Kluckhohn, 1943, p. 225, "has implications for the treatment of many legal cases involving sex offenses, property, and divorce, which are now handled in a manner which is often perplexing or infuriating to the Navaho." He cites evidence similar to that of the statements quoted here.

A newly-married man, however, may be reluctant to move his livestock over to his wife's family's place for fear he will lose some of it through shady manipulations or will have difficulty getting it back if the marriage falls through. For Navaho women feel justified in appropriating property in return for sexual access. Even at squaw dances a man pays his dancing partner, as one young Navaho explained, "because you get to feel her."

That sexual rights are considered to have an economic value is suggested by the Navaho phrase, "stealing," with reference to sexual activity between persons not legally married. For example, a man was accused of having "stolen" two girls at a wedding. It is said of another, whose sex life is promiscuous: "He just steals it." The general attitude is expressed in the following statement: "A lot of these young girls around here are going to have babies without husband. I don't like that. It's just like stealing." In other words, to gain sexual rights a man must pay for them by assum-

ing the economic responsibilities of marriage.¹²

Another type of economic sexual asset, though now falling into disrepute, is transvestitism. Thus, according to W. W. Hill: "They are believed to have been given charge of the wealth in the beginning and to control it to the present day. The family which counted a transvetite among its members or had a hermaphrodite born to them was considered by themselves and everyone else as very fortunate. The success and wealth of such a family was believed to be assured." He cites informants' statements such as the following:

'If there were no nadle, the country would change. They are responsible for all the wealth in the country. If there were no more left, the horses, sheep, and Navaho would all go. They are leaders just like President Roosevelt.'

'A nadle around the hogan will bring good luck and riches.'

'They have charge of all the riches. It does a great deal for the country if you have a nadle around . . .'¹³

¹² Apparently sexual rights outside of marriage do not carry the same economic value. In a study of sex practices and beliefs only three informants men-

tioned prostitution, two of the three pointing out its rarity in the area (Bailey, 1950, p. 101).

¹³ Hill, 1935, p. 274.

SUMMARY

IN SUMMING up Navaho values regarding wealth accumulation, the first and most compelling point is that wealth accumulation is a primary preoccupation. A high valuation is placed upon the possession of land, livestock, houses, clothes, and jewelry. The stress is not only on quantity ("lots of property," "big herds," "plenty to eat"), but on quality ("nice things to wear," "good horses"). All of these things constitute "a good living." There is considerable emphasis on making a *better* living by increasing herds and by improving farming. For a pastoral people, the statements examined evidence a surprisingly intense interest in making money, saving money, and getting wagework for money as well as a deprecation of losing money through gambling. The value placed on money (though not on property) may be regarded as an index of acculturation.

Sheer accumulation of wealth is of less importance than its display or its generous distribution. Navahos admire the "good-looking herds" and jewelry and trappings of their people. Through the possession of property one can "go anywhere without being ashamed." As for techniques of accumulation, sheepherding is preferred, but other livestock raising, farming, silver-working, and blanket-weaving are also favored. Pinyon-collecting is mentioned but once in the statements examined. There is some mention of trading and saving as means of accumulating wealth, and "dreaming" about property is held to be of considerable assistance in acquiring it. Moreover, *learning* about livestock and property is a sure method of acquiring them. One is instructed to "learn how the old people found things out" and to learn prayers, songs, and stories. Acquiring skills such as weaving is advised. The younger and more acculturated Navahos value formal education and vocational training. This emphasis on learning is matched by exhortations to *teach* children how to make a good

living. Good parents tell their children stories, train them to take good care of property, and make them work.

The way to earn money, to acquire property, and to become a rich man is by working hard. No matter how poor a man is, he is expected to work around the hogan, do the outside work, and keep on working. A hard worker is a good man — a man people "talk about." A good worker cannot be called a witch because "a witch doesn't do anything." The way to accumulate property is by overcoming hardships, for "everything is hard to get, even little things." Consequently there are continual injunctions never to be lazy, never to "fool around" or run about to games, dances, and Sings. People make fun of a lazy man, convinced that he will never *have anything*.

But far outweighing hard work as a means of accumulating wealth is the caution to preserve one's possessions. A man will make a good living and have everything he wants if he just stays at home, looks after his hogan, takes care of his livestock, uses his tools properly, and keeps what he has in good repair. The worst possible eventuality is to lose property, sheep, and money. One must have a song for the sheep so they will not get lost or die. Drinking is accepted so long as it is not a waste of money. Games are approved, but gambling is abjured because it is the one sure way of losing sheep, money, everything. A loser does not *amount* to anything. He has lost his property — he is poor.

Summarizing the socio-economic Navaho values as revealed by the statements examined, it may be said that there is acute consciousness of polar economic status differentiation. Being too rich and being too poor are both socially censured.¹ Navahos envy those with property, but they also hate, fear, and resent them. The rich are resented because they "don't pay poor people for use of their land,"

¹St. John, 1952, p. 8, states that the "permit system" of the Indian Service tends to accentuate economic status differentiation. "Seemingly the Indian Service does not intentionally try to keep some families 'rich' and others 'poor' but the more fortunate

families, through the government policies, maintain their livestock holdings because other families either have no sheep or do not use their full quota and thus enable the big holders to use the free grazing rights which are the common property of all."

because they have credit with the traders, because they don't have to work very hard. Consequently rich people are seldom chosen for community leadership. Ownership of pickup trucks and large herds is approved by leaders, but the paramount criterion for leadership is the ability to talk forthrightly to the people "in lots of different ways."

Rich people are distrusted because they surely could not have accumulated their wealth if they had carried out their social obligation to look after their relatives and help people out generally. People who have a great deal of property are suspected of having used illegitimate means of acquiring it. They are suspected of witchcraft, as making "bad medicine" is "the easiest way to get rich." It is dangerous to be too prosperous. Rich people may be killed by witches and their graves robbed. They may be rendered ill by bad medicine and their cure delayed by witches disguised as Singers. Small wonder that "rich people don't like to say how many sheep they have." Being too rich evokes powerful social sanctions.

Being too poor is likewise dangerous. Nothing is more frightening to the Navahos than the prospect of "losing all and everything," being hungry and without clothing and livestock. The poor are feared because they don't have anything—not even a dog or a cat or a song. They are suspected of acting as helpers to witches. There are social pressures operative here too—"Everybody laughs at poor people." Nevertheless, there is an uneasy sense of obligation to "help the poor people out" and allow them access to water and rangeland. A few Navahos have expressed

themselves as favoring a social plateau of equality. The poor should be allowed to increase their herds. The rich should "come back and go along with the poor." Deviations from the middle way, poverty or overabundance, are threats to the Navaho way.

There is tremendous emphasis on looking after one's home and family and taking care of children, old folks, and relatives. Children who have been neglected, overworked, or cheated of their property develop considerable resentment against their parents. Although being poor is the Navahos' most dreaded fate, they will risk poverty to help their dependents and relatives. There is only one socially approved excuse for indigence: "Too many Singers" for one's relatives.

This "helping out" policy is extended to include Navaho people who are friends, neighbors, travellers. One must help everyone and "do whatever people ask"—feed them, give them goods, money, and horses; help with herding, shearing, farming, and especially assist in curing ceremonials. Navaho economic ethics deprecate lying, cheating, "bothering other people's things," and stinginess. No one can get rich without doing other people in.²

Thus, with regard to the accumulation of wealth, the explicit values, as expressed by the Navaho, direct one to "make a good living," "have lots of property," "take care of things," and "work hard and don't be lazy." Reinforcing these is a set of socio-economic values which regulates the accumulation of wealth and dictates the manner of its distribution: "don't be too rich," "never get poor," "look after your family," and "help people out."

²Navaho morality is not conceptualized in the form of abstract ideals, according to Kluckhohn, 1949, p. 366. That is, acts such as lying or cheating are not in themselves bad or good. The rules vary with the situation. Kluckhohn states: "Under the circumstances of aboriginal life Navahos did not need

to orient themselves in terms of abstract morality. They got their orientations from face-to-face contacts with the same small group of people with whom they have the overwhelming majority of their dealings from birth to death."

APPENDIX: TABLES

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TABLE 1: HIERARCHY OF VALUES
(By Percentage of Frequency of Reference)

		PER CENT
I. Means of Accumulation and Dissipation:		
Don't gamble, drink, or go around to Sings	16*	
Work, work hard, and don't be lazy	9	
Learn how to accumulate property	3	
SUBTOTAL		28
II. Acquisition:		
Have lots of property	12	
Make some money	8	
Make a good living	5	
SUBTOTAL		25
III. Retention:		
Don't lose anything	15	
Take care of things	8	
SUBTOTAL		23
IV. Cooperation:		
Look after your family	5	
Help people out	4	
Tend to your own business and don't give everything away	3	
SUBTOTAL		12
V. Status Differentiation:		
Never get poor	5	
Don't be too rich (implicit)	5	
Rich and poor should share alike	1	
SUBTOTAL		11
TOTAL		99

* Due to the concentrations of interest on topics of limited scope in particular research projects in the past, the cumulative file of field notes often supplies a wealth of material on one topic and, unfortunately, much less on another. Thus it is that the Navaho disapproval of gambling, a value of not predominant

importance to this study, is by far the most heavily documented of the values herein considered. More than two dozen informants have contributed several dozen statements without exception disapproving of gambling and almost without exception for the same reason: "Because you'll lose everything."

TABLE 2: DEGREE OF ACCULTURATION OF INFORMANTS

	PER CENT
Conservative; want to go Navaho way	47
Caught between two worlds; conflict, delinquent behavior	15
Fairly acculturated; accept one or both ways	24
Want to go white way	14
TOTAL	100

TABLE 3: ECONOMIC STATUS OF INFORMANTS

	PER CENT
Poor	43
Middle Range	45
Rich	12
TOTAL	100

NAVAHO ACQUISITIVE VALUES

TABLE 4: ACCULTURATION AND ECONOMIC STATUS

	Poor	PER CENT Middle Range	Rich
Conservative; want to go Navaho way	50	50	29
Caught between two worlds; conflict, delinquent behavior	32	4	0
Fairly acculturated; accept one or both ways	18	23	43
Want to go white way	0	23	28
TOTAL	100	100	100

TABLE 5: ACCULTURATION AND PRESTIGE

	INDIVIDUALS
Conservative; want to go Navaho way	7
Caught between two worlds; conflict, delinquent behavior	0
Fairly acculturated; accept one or both ways	1
Want to go white way	1
TOTAL	9

TABLE 6: ECONOMIC STATUS AND PRESTIGE

	INDIVIDUALS
Poor	3
Middle Range	3
Rich	3
TOTAL	9

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